1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders,
417 since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for
[352] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

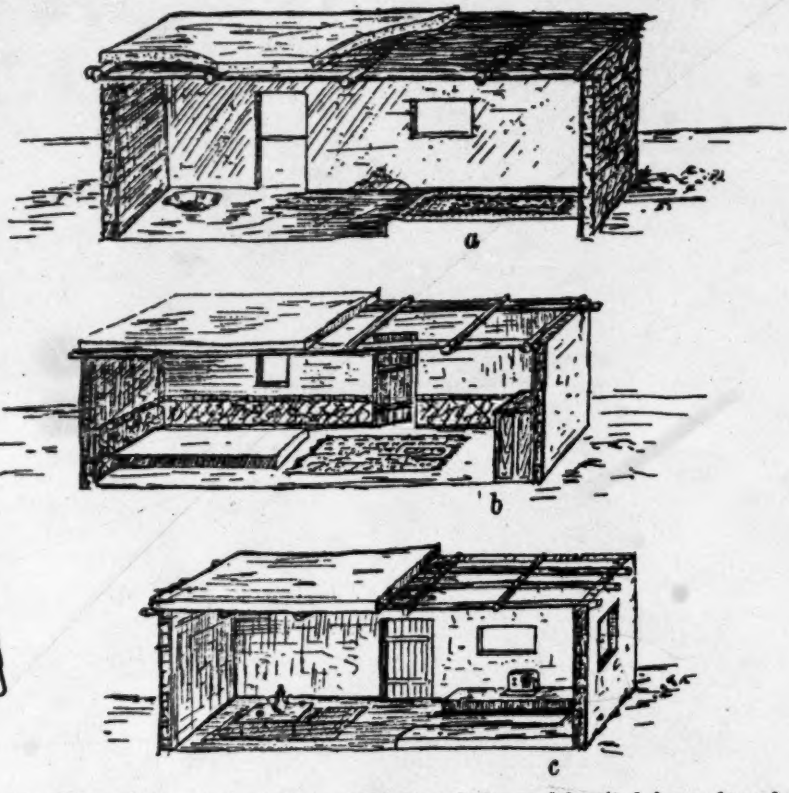

Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A. [See p. 127--Analyst] B. [See p. 126--Analyst]